1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157
181 "good" drinkers, in whom the relaxation of conscious control is not followed by abnormal behavior.

[526] A few socially permitted forms of releasing hostility are available. The wrestling of young men appears to serve this function. Such behavior (as, for example, when it was observed between John Kean and his brother, Nitla) often becomes grim and serious, only the laughter of the onlookers preventing it from taking the form of a serious expression of hostility. Another potential channel for releasing hostility is gambling. The high appeal of gambling, the intense preoccupation in the stick game, the use of the word "kill" to denote the elimination of an opponent, the joy displayed when the guesser has been outwitted, and the disappointment in defeat, all point to this situation as of great emotional significance. These facts make it likely that gambling is unconsciously conceived as a channel for expressing aggression. The dancelike body rhythm accompanied by the drumming offers an opportunity for a somatic discharge of repressed emotion. When one refers to the intensity with which two dominant men like Nick Lang and Louis Maza played against one another, the scornful clowning of Louis on another occasion, and the fact that gambling games are sometimes broken up through quarreling, the interpretation of gambling as a socially permitted form of releasing aggressive impulses is strengthened.

It is of course obvious that such permitted forms of release, provided they do not culminate in open hostility, are not in conflict with the dominant motivation of deference. Rather an adequate number of such situations might insure the better preservation of the value, by preventing a dangerous accumulation of repressed hostility.

Expression in the Rorschach test situation. There are no satisfactory criteria for judging aggressiveness or its absence in the Rorschach situation. Responses involving scenes of aggression or hostile animals have sometimes been interpreted to indicate aggressive impulses. Both types of answers are inconspicuous in Kaska records. On the other hand, a number of responses to be discussed in connection with subsequent motivations offer insight into how the Kaska behave in social relations in order to reduce the danger of open conflict. The significance of these responses for the question of deference will be pointed out.

Résumé. Data have been presented and analyzed to show the operation of deference as a dominant motivation which defines potentially hostile situations as threatening and patterns their avoidance. The motivation aims at maintaining warm human relations and guarding against threats of the loss of love. Safety lies in tact or (to use a word familiar to the Kaska) in refusing to "bother" others and in evading all situations of being bothered. Under alcohol, inhibitions of hostility sometimes become reduced. Such instances, as well as dreams, reveal a considerable component of repressed hostility.

The efficiency of deference lies chiefly in the fact that it succeeds in curbing open interpersonal aggression in an atomistic society by confining it to relatively harmless forms. As deference results in the accumulation of hostility, from which unconscious anxiety may be generated, its efficacy becomes reduced. Under conditions of a surfeit of hostility and derived anxiety, it is not likely that the goal of deference—warm human relations—will be subjectively realized. Rather, under such conditions, the individual will feel uncertain of how closely he is living up to his demand for deference and also insecure regarding how well he is liked by his society.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

517 the smooth snow of a frozen lake. Games, feasts, and potlatches involved larger scale social interaction.

534 The tambourine drum furnished the standard musical instrument. The best toned drumheads came from the raw skin of a young moose, caribou skin being inferior because it split too easily. The rawhide was spanned across one side of a circular wooden rim, babiche lines running from the edges of the skin to tie underneath the cover. These converging lines also made a useful handle to hold the instrument. The size of drums varied but a potlatch instrument sometimes attained three feet in diameter. To tighten the drumhead a player carefully heated it over a fire. Although the Upper Liard Indians [534] made rattles for children, such instruments were not regarded as musical instruments. Whistles, carved from willow, also constituted toys.[23]

533 Repetitious, wordless chants that expressed feeling and amused or entertained listeners shared a place with true songs containing words. The repertory included potlatch songs, gambling songs for stick games, love songs to serenade a sweetheart, mourning songs, and magical war chants. A shaman sang his own song while curing, and so did a man working with a maul.

535 The Upper Liard Indians did not dance in a circle. Rather people ranged themselves in a row and, with the arms partly raised but not directly participating in the movement, 293 rocked the body up and down while keeping time with the feet.[24] Potlatch dancers painted their faces grotesquely and costumed themselves in sheep and wolf skins, half-finished coats, absurd headgear, and sheep horns—all provoking considerable amusement for the spectators. Wolf's-head masks might be worn by members of that moiety.

● 526 The people liked to engage in contests of strength and skill, including throwing, arrow shooting, wrestling, and racing. Adults and children played with balls made from a mass of skin sewn into a tanned-skin container. Target shooting with a bow demanded a small stick thrust in the ground as a target. In one winter sport boys threw sticks in the snow trying to make them skip like flat stones thrown across the surface of water. Young men frequently competed to see who by using his hands alone could break the hindquarter bone of a beaver. Occasionally a girl also joined the competition. The secret of breaking a beaver bone, according to an informant, lay in twisting it with great force [534] rather than trying to break it in half. Riddles are said to have been told for amusement but none could be obtained.[25] Wrestling enjoyed wide popularity among young men but was specifically prohibited between two brothers-in-law. Young boys ran foot races on the snow of a frozen lake. Canoe races could not be recalled but an informant believed

[23] A Kaska informant knew the Tlingit to possess plank drums and to use rattles in dancing. According to Drucker, the Tlingit (including the Chilkat) used single-head tambourine, suspended wooden, and plank drums. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 197–198.

[24] Among the Tlingit "while dancing, the participants stand close together and scarcely move out of their tracks. . . . The dancing really consists of rhythmic movements of the hands, arms, head and entire body above the waist. . . . Time is measured by the beat of the drum. . . ." Men and women danced, painting the face with red or black pigments and also using masks. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 144.

[25] "It is interesting to note the presence of riddles among the Tahltan, a feature that has not often been reported for North American Indian tribes." Teit, *On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* (1912), 486.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

that sometimes dugouts engaged in such contests.[28] People played many games including blind man's bluff, which involved covering the eyes of a player with tanned skin while five or six other participants circled the blindfolded person, who sought to capture them. Both sexes of all ages played hide and seek. Sometimes an object was hidden and its discovery became the object of the game. With a raw skin available children initiated the game of drag-skin, jumping on the skin and trying to hold it back by their weight as it was being drawn by an older person. String figures called for a certain amount of skill to construct designs like a duck, crow, feet, and conical lodge from a length of tanned-skin line. Rope jumping and rope tug-of-war did not come into popularity until contact, and pole tug-of-war, skin-tossing, as well as snapping sticks, could not be recalled as amusement devices. Shamans may have used snapping sticks as part of the curing ritual. Story telling possessed educative value and constituted the pleasant responsibility of old men. A story teller might insist that the audience look him directly in the eyes. Should a young person shift his glance he would be reprimanded by the narrator remarking, "You won't be smart."[29] Private ownership did not extend to folk tales.

Gambling occurred in summer, when a number of family bands gathered together and the weather allowed players to assemble around an outdoor fire. The stick game, of which several alternative forms existed, furnished the most popular medium for betting.[30] Since the pattern of this game has already been described for the Kaska[31] the details will not be repeated here. Mainly the game took place at night, illumination coming from a well-tended fire located between the double line of kneeling players. A steady drumming furnished rhythm to which the gamblers moved hands and body as they challenged the opponents to guess in which hand the wooden token lay concealed. Women as well as men played the stick game but the sexes never competed in the same game. Forfeits consisted of whatever valuables a man chose to offer. Sometimes after playing most of the night a man lost all his resources. With the gambling fever still possessing him he might in the end bet his wife. Should he lose his bet the woman remained with the winner for two or three days before returning to her husband. Marriages rarely broke up as a result of this custom. Sometimes an old man, fearing that the woman would become accustomed to the other man, went to the winner's camp and urged the latter to send her back.

Feasts marked a number of points on the life cycle. Thus parents celebrated the birth

[28] The Tlingit organized three- to four-mile races, run by from three to five canoes. Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 81.

[29] A Tahltan informant, Beal Carlick, said that among his people a grandfather told many stories about fighting, murder, and warfare. Such deeds were explained as resulting from the evil nature of some men and the craziness of some women. "This was just like school, educate us so we don't lie, don't steal." Stories also possessed entertainment value and filled evenings when there was nothing else to do. "Sit down, listen, don't run around anymore," the informant said.

[30] Stick games were also a favorite form of gambling among the Tlingit. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 443–444; Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 122–123.

[31] Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 174–175.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River

535 431 coal. Other masks came from the head skins of black and grizzly bears, the goat, and sheep.

431 Potlatches were accompanied by games and sports, some of which included competitions between teams recruited from opposite moieties. Popular sports including racing, 526 tugs-of-war, blind-man's bluff, wrestling, target shooting, throwing, and gambling. Races took place between men, the end of a course sometimes being marked by the prize that would become the property of the winner. Thus an arrow thrust into a tree would be pulled out by the first contestant to reach the objective. Two spruce bark traveling canoes also raced, each containing a team selected on moiety lines. The winning team claimed the rival vessel as their prize. Three or four men engaged in swimming races, often to see who could cross a river quickest. Tugs-of-war also occurred between moieties. Customarily some boiled meat piled on one side of the playing ground constituted the prize of the winning side. The Kaska, one concludes, did not enjoy sport for its own sake but preferred to compete for some tangible reward. Men and women engaged in tugs-of-war, the sport being played with lines as well as with poles. Poles in turn were both pushed and pulled. Blind-man's-bluff found favor with children and adults. In this game one of the contestants had his eyes bound with caribou hide. Moving with outstretched arms toward the sound cues of the other participants he sought to grasp somebody's coat or arm. In a variety of this game a blindfolded individual sought to secure a marten skin hung in a tree. Success earned him the right to keep the prize. Wrestling matches endured for several hours, for as one contestant was overcome another stepped from the circle of onlookers to challenge the victor. Each defeated challenger paid the victor in moccasins, a bow, or an arrow. Wrestling for women was denied [171] but the informant, in typical fashion, remarked having heard of the practice among the Espatotena and "Mackenzie River Indians." Shooting with bow and arrows for a mark on a tree or toward some other target rarely involved a prize. Sticks were also flung 525 across snow (snow scaling?) to see how far one could hit. Skin tossing and drag-skin 633 games could not be recalled. People keenly relished gambling in the form of the stick game. Teams consisted of from five to ten men each. Instead of playing with the hands under a robe the contestants held their arms behind the back while they shuffled the pointed wooden token. Two drummers accompanied the players and simultaneously chanted "hō, hō, hō, hō." Should drums be unavailable the players themselves chanted in a moderately fast, double rhythm, six-eighths time: "ha-ha, hu-hi, hi-ha, hu-hi."

527 Through feasts the Indians celebrated a youth's first successful hunt for large game, 431 a girl's return from her initial menstrual seclusion, and a youth's completion of his dream quest. Sometimes the feasts became potlatches. No mortuary feast took place but a "remembrance" potlatch occurred about one year after death. Potlatches were exchanged between moieties and followed a period of gift solicitation. Objects given to a potlatcher constituted outright gifts for the festival from which, in turn, all the givers derived prestige. The contributors received gifts when the opposite moiety repaid the potlatch. Only rich men provided a potlatch, their poorer fellows being unable to accumulate sufficient food or objects for such an undertaking. Clowning and masked dancing enlivened the give-away but nobody recalled the use of ceremonial wigs.